

Message Text

PAGE 01 USUN N 03692 062230Z

62-73
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 CCO-00

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O 062157Z OCT 73
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9936

S E C R E T USUN 3692
EXDIS
E.O. 11652: GDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, ME
SUBJ: THE UN IN THE MIDDLE EAST

1. BEFORE CONVERSATION WITH MCINTYRE REPORTED USUN 3690,
TRIAL BALLOONS WERE BEING FLOATED BY VARIOUS PARTIES
AND THERE WAS NO SINGLE DEVELOPING SCENARIO. THIS
TELEGRAM ATTEMPTS TO ANALYZE MORE IMPORTANT CONTINGENCIES
STILL BEFORE US.

2. ARAB LEADERSHIP (LARGELY IN HAND OF EGYPTIANS) HAS
SEEMED TO FAVOR SPECIAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEETING TO
DEAL WITH BOTH PRESENT AND LONGER TERM MAJOR ASPECTS
OF ME. THIS COULD TAKE PLACE MONDAY MORNING. POSTURE
OF SOVIET MISSION IS SUPPORTIVE OF EGYPTIANS. PRINCIPAL
EGYPTIAN AIMS WOULD INCLUDE MORE PRO-ARAB ASSEMBLY INTER-
PRETATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242 TO REQUIRE ISRAELI
WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AS PRE-
CONDITION TO NEGOTIATIONS. THEY WOULD SEEK CONDEMNATION
OF ISRAELI AGGRESSION IN PAST AND, NOTWITHSTANDING
CONTRARY EVIDENCE, TRY TO FIX RESPONSIBILITY FOR PRESENT
OUTBREAK ON TEL AVIV AND ITS SUPPORTERS. US WOULD
INEVITABLY BE PILLORIED FOR MAKING ISRAELI "AGGRESSION"
POSSIBLE BY MASSIVE ARMS AID. ARABS WITH SOVIET SUPPORT
WOULD LIKELY COMMAND "AUTOMATIC MAJORITY" FOR THEIR
RESOLUTION.

3. ALTERNATIVE ARENA IS SECURITY COUNCIL. EVEN IF
SECRET

PAGE 02 USUN N 03692 062230Z

EARLY SC MEETING HELD, E.G. SATURDAY EVENING OR SUNDAY,
ARABS MIGHT PROCEED TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY EXERCISE
MONDAY IN ANY EVENT UNDER GUISE OF NORMAL GENERAL DEBATE.

4. ARABS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS WOULD PROBABLY PREFER TO MAKE VETO-FREE GA THE PUBLIC FOCUS. THUS WE COULD NOT ENTIRELY PREVENT THEIR USING GA FORUM, EVEN IF SC SEIZED WITH ISSUE. AS A MATTER OF HARD REALITY SC IS LIKELY TO CONVENE ONLY IF US TAKES INITIATIVE FOR A MEETING. BRITISH BEGAN WAFFLING AS SOON AS THEY HEARD EGYPTIANS WERE CONSIDERING ALTERNATIVES. NO OTHER SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBER SEEMS INCLINED TO CARRY BALL, NOR CAN SYG WALDHEIM OR SC PRESIDENT MCINTYRE OR AUSTRALIA BE EXPECTED TO TAKE INITIATIVE FOR A MEETING. ALL THESE POSSIBILITIES WOULD OF COURSE BE ALTERED IF SITUATION ON GROUND IN ME TOOK DRAMATIC TURN.

5. UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES ONLY POSSIBILITY OF SC ACTION CAPABLE OF MITIGATING THESE PROSPECTS (AND THAT FORESEEN BY MCINTYRE) LIES IN STRONG US DEMAND FOR MEETING ACCOMPANIED OR FOLLOWED BY EFFORT TO PASS SC RESOLUTION REAFFIRMING CEASE-FIRE AND CALLING FOR RETURN TO PRE-OCTOBER MILITARY POSITIONS.

6. THERE IS NO CERTAINTY SUCH A RESOLUTION WOULD REMAIN INTACT, OR WOULD RECEIVE NECESSARY 9 AFFIRMATIVE VOTES, OR THAT IT WOULD NOT BE VETOED. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE US POSITION IN PUBLIC OPINION, AND IN ANY SUBSEQUENT UNDEBATE, WOULD BE MEASURABLY STRENGTHENED; THOSE WHO ABSTAINED OR VOTED NO WOULD BEAR CLEAR RESPONSIBILITY. WHILE DEBATE IN SC WOULD BE UGLY, THE COUNCIL IS UNQUESTIONABLY BEST BATTLEGROUND FROM US POINT OF VIEW AND CLEARLY THE BEST PLACE TO MAKE US OPPOSITION TO ARMED CONFLICT.

7. THERE COULD BE SOME VERY DIFFICULT MOMENTS, BUT BUT I CAN SEE NO CONTINGENCY UNDER WHICH WE WOULD HAVE BEEN BETTER OFF NOT TO HAVE MADE A STRONG TRY IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WHETHER OR NOT ISRAELI MILITARY MAKES MASSIVE SUCCESSFUL RESPONSE, THE POSSIBILITY OF REESTABLISHING THE CEASE-FIRE AND SETTING THE STAGE
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PAGE 03 USUN N 03692 062230Z

FOR OTHER EFFORTS WOULD HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY IMPROVED.
SCALI

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O, MR. SARROS.

SECRET

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